1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[48] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

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[48] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshû into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshû is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyô Kikyô*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

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Nembutsu Shonin *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu shohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* *Epakashimuko Take*)
Sooner or later all men must die once
(*Tonashikamoreike* *Arishimu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* *Raiwo Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yoaki Shi Seihere Osiyora Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there and live as he pleases
(*Omansekutoha* *Yaeramu Ainine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiko Otare* *Enu Kashikewa Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Tahan Mushirikata* *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etsnhako* *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* *Kashikeda Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funn Hetsune* *Shomaorai Ruhone*).
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namnamidabutsu* (*Namnashitaki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namnamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko.* *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

> The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.
>
> The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the power of words to compass.

After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune, the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo;* and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

534 ment; and as it is applied by them to all Japanese instruments of music, it shows that they do not distinguish very sharply one instrument from another. Though in my long journeying I found one of these *mukkos*, I was never able to discover any Ainu who could play on it, and the Ainu of Ishikari from whom I bought it told me that the man, the only one, who could play on it, was dead. This was unfortunate, as none of the others could tell me how he tuned it; and one old man, in attempting to solve the problem, broke three strings. Seeing that I was then quite unable to learn any of the tunes of the deceased Ainu Paganini I purchased the instrument, and found by cross-examining the natives that it was played by twanging the strings with the fingers, and not with a plectrum, as is the case with the Japanese *shamesen*. In the illustration I have faithfully drawn a front and a side view of this instrument, so as to give the reader an exact idea of its shape. The Ainu of Volcano Bay sometimes make bamboo jew's-harps for their children; but even those are very uncommon, so we might as well define Ainu music as entirely vocal. Ainu music is sentimental, and not displeasing, but it is monotonous, and continually repeats itself. It is difficult to establish a rule as to what order of intervals their music is founded on, as their progressions, modulations, and rhythmical effects are often so peculiar as to make it impossible to indicate them accurately by means of our musical notation; but the nearest approach to it is the diatonic minor scale. The Ainu are fond of chromatic intervals, and when their recital comes to an exciting point they make use of this method in a

A "MUKKO," OR MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

SIDE VIEW OF THE "MUKKO."

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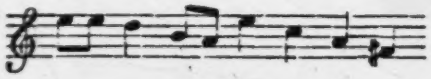
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:— 533



The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu—are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

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4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 755 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 533 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 [illegible] 533 During the process of pounding millet—which is only practised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 [illegible] 533 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

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descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

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342 527 782 [411] [292] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[2] [533] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

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769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served cere-
273 monially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
[782] with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down some-
887 times in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
● [533] is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
[562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
[558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*)
535 might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the
273 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
574 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
[533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

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535
273 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS
574 drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container
769 and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or
● [533] canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial
769 observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*).
574 The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller
273 one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the con-
887 troller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by
[782] the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

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DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoise*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

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The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

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The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

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In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

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DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

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APPENDIX II

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

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Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

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When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

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After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-